1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 [984] oitoi, nefigeru 'n-gujit anafigaki, amu ājo metum endōki nalo aifigoru.

fallen on the road, he pulls up some grass, and throws it on the tree; otherwise he fears that his journey will not be successful.

Enyor il-Maasae 'n-gujit nalefig, amu ājo: 'Eishorua opa eng-AI 'n-gishu oo 'n-gujit, mikiór in-dōkitin náishoo 'yook eng-AI.'

The Masai love grass very much, for they say: 'God gave us cattle and grass, we do not separate the things which God has given us.'

234 787 Ore 'ng-oloñgi pōkin ten elep i-figorōyok in-gishu, neitau kulle te-'m-bukuri, neibughoo, amu ājo: 'Enyor eng-AI.'

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the gourd and pour it away, for they say: 'God likes this.'

Il-mishiren oo 'l-ponot.

233 422

The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Mefigar il-Maasae 'l-mishiren.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are not alike.

[C14] Eata ae-kishōmi ol-mishire lenye kitok le-'n-gishōmi pōkin.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

Neitōki aata 'l-gilat ti-atwa, eiyōlōuni en-gitefig injere en--e-'n-gishōmi naje, kake en-e-figania.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized.

E-ata sii 'l-ponot; metii en-gishōmi nemeata ol-ponoto lenye.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Neitōki aoro ti-atwa.

They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner.

Ten edoli en-gitefig neiyōlōuni 'njere en-oo-'l-Aiser enna-kitefig, kake en-e-figania.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the Aiser clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-juñgore.

Ten ăă ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae, nejuñg en-gerai enye bŏtor in-dŏkitin enye pŏkin, oo 'n-gĭshu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorŏyok nemeata 'n-gera; kake meidim aiyawa 'n-gĭshu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorŏyok naaata 'ng-ayok.

E'ya 'n-gulye-kera naara 'ng-ayok 'n-gĭshu oo-'ng-ajijik oo-nooñgotonye.

Teni meata ol-móruo 'n-gera, nejuñg il-alashera lenyena 'n-gĭshu oo 'ñgorŏyok; kake nejuñg i-ñgorŏyok ol-alashe oñgárie kina, amu torono; nejuñg lekwa lemeñgárie kina, ninje oo'ya 'ñgorŏyok.

Ore ten eĭu e-ñgorŏyŏni enye eng-ayŏni to-'l-alashe lemeñgárie kina, araki te-lighae-tuñgani, neishori inna-kerai 'n-gĭshu metujuñgo, neipotyeki aajo ol-le-inna-añg.

Naa, ten ăă ol-móruo, neiñgu[illegible]-ñgorŏyŏni enye eata en-gerai kake eng-ayŏni, nejuñgi 'n-gĭshu enyena, epali metubulu ol-openy.

Mejuñg il-Maasae 'l-apulayani lenye, amu torono.

Inheritance.

When the father of a family dies, his eldest son inherits all his property[1], and also the herds and flocks belonging to the childless widows, but not those which are the property of widows who have sons. 428

The sons by each wife inherit the cattle belonging to their mother's family.

If a man dies childless, his brothers inherit his cattle and his half-brothers his wives. It is unlawful for a man's own brothers (i. e. brothers by the same mother) to take his wives. [587]

Should a widow have a son by her late husband's half-brother or by another man, the child is given the cattle which he would otherwise have inherited had his mother's former husband been alive, and he is considered to belong to that family. 587 428 851

If a man dies and leaves a son who is a minor, the property which he inherits is taken care of for him until he grows up[2]. 428 429

It is considered unlawful for a man to inherit the property of his maternal uncle. 428 604

[1] The Masai distribute their herds and flocks amongst their wives during their lifetime, each one being given a certain number to look after and milk. The cattle so distributed are said to belong to the wife's family, and are recognized as the property of her sons, who, however, do not assume ownership until after their father's death. [422]

[2] In a case of this kind, the child does not go to the wars, but marries soon after he is circumcised.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

726
539
782

Ore ten eitururo pôkin, nerany, nājo:

When they have all collected together, they sing as follows:

Eng-AI naōmon, neniñg.

Solo. The God to whom I pray, and he hears.

Eng-AI naōmon en-dōmōno.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

Aōmon Ṭarsai nailepua.

Solo. I pray the heavenly bodies which have risen.

Eng-AI naōmon en-dōmōno.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

'N-gera añg enn'-álo inyiaku.

Solo. Return hither our children.

'N-gera añg enn'-álo inyiaku.

Chorus. Return hither our children.

Free Translation.

O thou who gavest, thou to whom we pray
For offspring, take not now thy gift away.
O morning star, that shinest from afar,
Bring back our sons in safety from the war.

Etii sii likae-singólio le-'ng-ōmono e-'ng-AI ten eimutye 'l-muran te-'n-jore. Erany i-ñgorōyok pôkin eibuñgita 'm-ḅukurto kutiti naapisiñgare 'n-gujit naanyori, nājo:

There is another prayer to God, which is sung when the warriors tarry on a raid. All the women collect together, and, whilst holding in their hands small gourds covered with green grass, sing as follows:

I

Eng-AI! eng-AI! täku
Il-mishiren[1] le-'ikiñga!

Solo. God! God! tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Täkieku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

II

Na-toiye emigira.
Eshōmōki eng-ōmono e-'ng-AI.

Solo. Girls, be not silent.
Chorus. It is being prayed to God.

Täkieku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

[1] Il-mishiren, the brand-marks of cattle. The meaning here is Break the power of the foe.

[422]

Chapter III.

HISTORY OF THE MASAI MOVES.

600

Distribution of the Masai in 1902—Nomadic disposition—Applications by Europeans for land in the Rift Valley—Sir Charles Eliot's memorandum on Native Rights—Unrest among the Masai—Policy to be pursued in dealing with the Masai—Secretary of State's views—Mr. Hobley's reports on Laikipia—Mr. Jackson's memorandum—Resignation of Sir Charles Eliot—Mr. Hobley's investigations regarding Laikipia—Sir Donald Stewart's views—Agreement of 1904—Secretary of State's approval—The Masai Move, 1904—Extension of the boundaries of the Northern Masai Reserve—Further extension of the Reserve—Northern Reserve a Closed District—The further extension of the Northern Reserve—Proposals to extend the Northern Reserve—The Kekonyukye division—Purko on the Loita Plains—The suggested removal from Laikipia—Reports on Loita—Lenana's views—Reports on the Loita Plains—Irrigation of the Loita Plains—E-Unoto Ceremony, 1909—Meeting at Kisarian—The preliminary move—The move suspended—The Meeting of May 30th, 1910—Mr. Collyer's visits to the Loita country—The death of Lenana—The Agreement of 1911—The Masai Move of 1911—Congestion on the Mau—Desire to return north—Masai returned to Laikipia—Underestimation of Masai stock—Report on Extended Southern Masai Reserve—Tours in the Ol-Orokuti—Laikipia compared with the Southern Extension—The Move suspended—Census of the Masai on Laikipia—Tours in Ol-Orokuti—Meeting at Naivasha—Directions to the Masai to move—Arrangements for the Move—Meeting at Naivasha, 21st May, 1912—The "Masai Case"—Allotment of land to Settlers—The Meeting of December 8th, 1912—Completion of the Move—Attitude of the Masai after the Move—Disputes with previous residents—Relations between the Purko and Damat—Relations with the Lumbwa.

231 181 422

Distribution of the Masai in 1902.

In 1902-03, when settlers were first attracted to British East Africa, in considerable numbers, the Masai roamed unmolested on both sides of the Uganda Railway from Molo to Naivasha and on the South side from Nairobi to Kiu. They had, to a large extent, recovered from the effects of the cattle plague of 1890 and 1891 and were fairly wealthy again. It was estimated in 1904 that they possessed, in the Naivasha Province alone, 35,000 cattle and half-a-million sheep and goats. Their total possessions at that time amounted probably to 50,000 cattle and 600,000 sheep and goats.

361

Nomadic disposition.

The Masai are a nomad race, in so far as they change their residence frequently and without hesitation, and usually spend the cold weather in the valleys and the hot weather in the mountains. For their cattle, also, they are continuously seeking fresh pastures, and a grazing area, once left, remains untouched for a considerable period. A small number of kraals, to which the Masai would return annually, did exist, but these villages were few and far between and frequently uninhabited.

648 361

Applications by Europeans for land in the Rift Valley.

The absence of fixed habitations and the periodical migrations of the Masai led to the belief that a considerable portion of Masai country was masterless. In particular was this the case in respect of the Rift Valley, an area admirably suited to stock-raising and European settlement. Applications for those areas which were not continuously occupied by the Masai were accordingly made by Europeans, and the attention of the Government was drawn to the question of how far the country could, with safety and justice, be opened to white settlement, without thereby encroaching on the native grazing rights. As was natural, the land most sought after was that adjacent to the Railway Line, and the advisability of the policy of allowing Masai residence near the Railway on land suitable for Europeans was questioned. It was felt that European settlers, to whom the Railway was a necessity, would not be content to see the Masai, to whom it could be of no use whatever, excluding them from its vicinity.

Sir Charles Eliot's Memorandum on Native Rights.

Considerable discussion took place on this question and Sir Charles Eliot wrote a memorandum on the subject of Native Rights in the Naivasha Province on the 7th of September, 1903 to the following effect:—

*G48 31 166

Majesty the King, and that, if they were permitted to move, they would be allowed to proceed slowly. After this, the treaty was translated and fully explained to them, and the Masai affixed their marks in the presence of the European officers. The treaty was then sent to Rumuruti to ascertain if Masikonde and such of the old men as were too infirm to attend the meeting at Ngong approved of the terms.

The agreement, as drafted, was submitted to the Secretary of State, who approved of its terms, by telegram, on the 29th of May, and by despatch on the 2nd of June, 1911.

The Masai Move of 1911

The Masai were accordingly informed that the Government had agreed to their moving from the Northern Reserve into an extended Southern Reserve. The move was arranged to proceed along four routes throughout June, July and August. No compulsion of any kind was used, and administrative and veterinary officers were detailed to escort the mobs of cattle across the European farms.

Congestion on the Mau.

One of the routes, which proceeded by Lake Naivasha, went straight into the extended Southern Reserve, and those Masai who travelled by this route soon reached the Loita Plains. The other three routes converged on the top of the Mau into "The Promised Land." The first Masai to arrive on the plateau went right through to their destination, but the succeeding parties, finding the grazing good, remained, erected their kraals, and decided not to push forward into the plains below. Unfortunately, no precautions were taken to induce them to leave the plateau, and there was consequently a great congestion at the commencement of the heavy rains, which usually fall on the Mau towards the end of August and in September. The roads became impassable, and the people and stock suffered from cold and discomfort. They accordingly returned to the European farms lying between Njoro and Elmenteita Stations on the Uganda Railway.

Steps to return north.

In consequence of this check, the Secretary for Native Affairs and the Director of Agriculture were sent, on August 21st, to investigate the situation, and they reported that there was nothing to show that the move was other than temporarily checked. It had, however, considerably affected the views of some of the people, and a desire appeared, more particularly on the part of Legalishu, to return to the north.

Masai returned to Laikipia.

As it was impossible for the Masai to remain on European farms near the Railway for any length of time, the Governor issued directions for them to be sent back to the southern part of Laikipia, and to the land belonging to the East Africa Syndicate, adjacent to the former Northern Masai Reserve. The carrying out of the necessary arrangements were entrusted to Mr. John Ainsworth, Provincial Commissioner, Kisumu, who met the Masai representatives at Elmenteita and Nakuru early in September. Mr. J. K. Hill placed 180,000 acres of Syndicate land at the disposal of the natives, and the move eastwards into this land was completed by September 16th.

Character of the Move.

This check was undoubtedly the result of the Masai having proceeded too quickly. They pressed forward even when asked by European farmers (through whose farms they were passing) to hold back, the farmers being desirous of trying to open up a trade with them. No police measures of any kind were adopted, testifying to the voluntary character of the move. It appears that the Masai did not suffer to any extent by the journey, and the losses reported were those which would naturally take place in large movements of stock.

*G48 231 31 166 427

Under-estimation of Masai stock.

The move had brought to light one matter of importance; previous calculations of the number of stock possessed by the Northern Masai had been greatly underestimated, and the probable figure was computed at 200,000 cattle and 2,000,000 sheep, a large increase over the original estimate, made in 1911, of 80,000 cattle and 1,500,000 sheep. That such an error should have been made is accounted for by the superstitious opposition of the Masai to the counting of any of their stock.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

614 a woman of his own clan. But in certain cases groups of sub-clans within the clan may inter-marry (as shown on the chart), but when this occcurs certain payments called *enganyit* are made.

The true status of the Laitayok is discussed elsewhere (Sect. 1) their clans are shown on the chart separate from the main body of Masai clans.

423 614 628 One of the most important aspect of the clan system lies in the ownership of waters. It appears that in the old days, when a new country was conquered, each moran, so far as he was able, claimed a water on behalf of his clan. Thus all the Naberera and other Central Masai wells are in clan ownership, as also are the springs round Losogonoi, Kibaya, etc. The senior member of the clan resident on the water is in control, and, in consultation with the other local clansmen, determines the order of watering.

The main practical application of this knowledge is that in effect the users of the water form a council for the settlement of disputes, under the 'chairmanship' of the owner. For example at Landanai a dispute arose as follows:—

A migrating Masai may demand, and must be given, water at any well or spring, when actually on the move, drinking in priority to any local cattle. A moran claimed this privilege at Landanai, the elder who was watering his cattle refused, and a fight ensued. The local users of the water reached one decision in the matter in the absence of the 'owner' of the water; when he heard of this he was furious, called another meeting, and the original decision was reversed.

In other words, when waters are in clan ownership, there is a definite system of settling disputes arising from the use thereof; further, as the clansmen frequently meet on the water, other matters — marriage, debt, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal.

[184 178] The value of these tribunals should not be overstressed, since in many cases waters are not in clan ownership; where water is abundant, as in a river or furrow, the water is communal, (*engare loongishu*) : in other areas where recent migration has ousted the original owners, the clan system does not apply.

614 In certain areas clan feeling manifests itself in other ways. For instance at Laitokitok in Kenya the Molelian and Laitayok have separate manyattas, and act independently in certain tribal matters. Near Loliondo it was found to be of great political advantage when the Laitayok were given a headman of their own. In the course of this survey, only one other clan concentration was discovered, namely the Laitayok at Engasumet, where this clan forms two-thirds of the total population. Local government can, therefore, be given a strong clan bias in that area, and in other areas which may be found in future to contain large numbers of a single clan.

614 ●422 ovv The feeling that the clan owns jointly all cattle in possession of the clansmen manifests itself in numerous ways. For instance, members of the Engidong clan are not supposed to contribute to the cattle taken by deputations to the laibon — himself an Engidong — but may add a present of their own. When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process.

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's boma until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *olunoto*, that of another *engera oilaitalak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully.

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongeya*. She takes over the child as her own ,and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnoti lembere*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *atabarno*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai.

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong or laibon's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called ol *onito*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee shaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the laibon's immediate family .

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they come in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured.

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the purse-strings in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts.

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman in trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

husbandry side, deciding which beasts shall be castrated, etc. He may also take bullocks and exchange them for heifers, or sell them at auctions and buy heifers. He is however expected to use his own reserve (*ongishu le boo*) for tax payments, and if he uses his wife's bullock he should later replace it with a heifer. When however the son takes over responsibility for his mother, the tax payable on their hut will be met by a bullock from the mother's herd.

When relations come to beg cattle, if they are clansmen of the husband, he should try to find cattle for them out of his own reserve, but may beg on their behalf from his wives. If a relation of one of his wives comes begging, the request should be met from that wife's herd, but the elder may also help from his own cattle. But wife B is not expected to assist the relations of wife A, and would in fact be very insulted if asked.

In the matter of milk and beer, the wife is in control. The husband should not go into the partitioned-off, private bed-chamber of the wife, where such drinks are kept. If the wife says the milk or beer is finished, the husband should accept her word, but if it is obviously untrue, he will at times look for himself. If he finds any, the wife is in the wrong; if he does not, he himself is: so in either case a quarrel starts.

Concerning cash realised by the sale of bullocks, the husband will grudgingly give it out to his wives for purchase of beads, wire, etc., but one sees no great display of generosity at auctions. When a man pays another's tax — the most frequent occasion on which one sees cash changing hands — the matter is always remembered and set off later, even in the case of a son.

Though these notes are only superficial, certain aspects of them must be regarded as important. In some cases the wives doubtless follow the advice of their husbands concerning the sale of stock, but they do possess rights of their own, on which — if strong-minded — they can insist. Thus if, for example, stock limitation were made compulsory, many an elder would be placed in an awkward position; if he refused to cull his stock, he would be prosecuted, if he arbitrarily sold his wives' beasts, he would have to face their wrath.

The introduction of economic schemes should, therefore, be preceded by consideration of their social aspects, so that the co-operation of the right person can be enlisted. It has been mentioned for instance that the women have complete control of the distribution of milk; it would appear, therefore, that the women should be consulted and agree to the establishment of any creamery or ghee manufacturing project, and that they should also directly enjoy its profits.

CONCLUSION.

In place of the administrative proposals with which this paper originally concluded, perhaps the writer may be permitted to substitute a few general reflections. These are based on 17 years' experience of purely District Administration in country ranging from the most unspoilt to the most heavily eroded, from the thickest of fly bush to the broadest

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

427 428 Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

915 916 *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Masai had no belief in a spirit life after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

754 *Curses.*—The death-bed curse is considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the person who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately lest the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse [915] uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

PART VIII.—CLANS.

614 The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Masai (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name.	*Sub-clans.*
No. 1. Laiseer	(1) Laiseer (2) Legetoi (3) Letoya (4) Lukumai (5) Lamothere (6) Libartimaru (7) Loiger.
No. 2. Ndarosiru	(1) Ndarosiru (2) Lanaboguaru.
No. 3. Molelian	(1) Molelian (2) Mbarakineti
No. 4. Magesen	(1) Magesen (2) Lesegu.

PART IX.—CATTLE AND SHEEP.

233 As a pastoral people the Masai have many very interesting customs connected with their flocks, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well-known to be worth discussion. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Each man of property has one or more village gates through which his herds enter and leave the village. His first wife builds her hut on the right (looking inwards) of her husband's gate, the second wife on the left. The third wife will build next to and on the right of the first wife, and the fourth wife next to and on the left of the second wife.

The diagram below (Text-fig. 1) shows a village belonging to two elders, A and B, with the positions of their gates and of their wives' huts in relation thereto.

When a man marries his first wife he hands over to her a portion of his stock, perhaps half, to look after. He hands to his second wife a slightly smaller herd and the first wife may add a few from her portion. The third and fourth wife receive their portions from the first and second wife respectively, and the husband may also

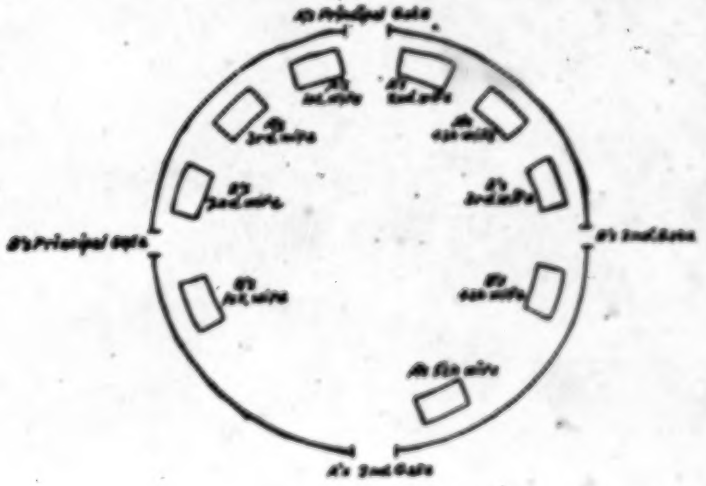


FIG. 1.

contribute a few. The fifth and subsequent wives receive a few cattle from each of the previous wives in order to form a herd.

Inheritance (*En-Daloishi*).—When a woman has a husband alive, and at the same time a son who marries, she allots some cattle to this son, and they then become his property. On the death of the head of the family each wife divides her portion among her sons. If a wife is already dead her eldest son divides her portion among her sons.

The cattle from the portions on the right side of the gate cannot pass as inheritance to the left side unless there are no sons of the wives on the right, and *vice versa*. If a man dies without male issue his property goes to the nearest male relations in his sub-clan. If the first wife has no sons her portion is inherited by the sons of the other wives on the right of the gate. A man may bequeath

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

Women's Property.—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(a) A woman who had plied the profession of a doctor (*i.e.* native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(b) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the woman of the house.

Laibons (Masai, *'L-Oibonok*).—Hollis, pp. 324-330, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarize their more recent history.

Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little credence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngavoya, son of Mellian, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1923 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimaruai, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but vainglorious and boastful. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngavoya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kakenyuki section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Meru in 1922, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko at the end of 1922. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1926 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII, *Fig.* 4, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the bronze club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (*see* Hollis, pp. 329 and 330). Mbatian's bronze club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

of cattle to a family (*kishomi*) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There appears to be no such system as the Nandi *kaptic* or Kipsikis *kimanakas*. (See above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *ol-kute*, is presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day. Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blunted arrow, *ol-poret*, shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled. Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick, *en-kokiat*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*il-airkaw*, sing. *o-nkiria*) which are used for carrying their goods when they move house (*idar*). Donkeys are marked by slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that warriors may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements of a traveller are open to question. Fosbrooke says that they may.* But further investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is required.

Inheritance of Cattle

There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given in trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use. Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kishomi*) arrangement in the kraal: for cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies without sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*ol-oshe*), and grazing rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition, claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over water are then ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at the water decides, after consultation with other clansmen, the order in which people take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

Division of Labour

In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided between the father's kraal, *enk-ang*, and the warriors' kraal, *o-manyata*, and that the

* Fosbrooke, personal communication.

[See details of the (Kishomi) arrangement in residence, etc. p. 109. --Ed.]

595 /27 cont./
[736] see in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en altero eng an) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the [422] best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

422 The domestic community does not have any common property. As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats, [554] sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle [428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /Ill. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy [591] is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of 422 to steal from the father. Huts and household implements, both 423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his [462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

000

/30 cont./

592 The earnings of the sons who are growing up to become warriors
• 422 consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's
[434] herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the sons also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the share of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

592 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man
593 of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the elder one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brothers for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family: just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The
[731] fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that
[567] followed each other in a short time around the year 1890 children [illegible] were given away by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the steppes and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

593 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad
591 treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his
613 lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds admittance /31/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

/60 cont./

551 Third names for girls: Eñg or = the sweeper, from a-or, to sweep; Leraij, Ol ginje, Ndebĕl, after like-named trees; Leschau, from eschau or ehau = to rain through into the house; En goitoi = the way; Batate = the one who fell down (a-batat = to fall; a-dabatate = I have fallen); Mboi, after a similar sounding call with which one calls back the goats and sheep that have strayed from the herd in the pasture; Karau = the thick-boned one.

[103] Names that women received after their marriage are: Eñg arus' ai, that is, the wife who comes from the Arusa area, as the Masai call the Gross-Aruscha /Great Arusha/ area at Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where many Masai found refuge in the famine. Eñ gischoro, after a former great warrior named Ol gischoro; similarly formed Eñ gischon from Ol gischon.

VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Point in time. -- The circumcision years, festivities at the end of them. -- Day of circumcision. -- Operation. -- Feast. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound. -- Circumcision of the girls. -- Point in time. -- Operation. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound.

881 [885] According to the belief of the Masai, circumcision was introduced by a command of God. After circumcision boys and girls are regarded as adults. The former are supposed to be circumcised as soon as they are strong enough for participation in a war expedition, that is, at the age of 12 to 16. Sometimes it is somewhat earlier, if the boy is particularly well developed, somewhat later if the father, lacking any other labor force, cannot spare him in the tending of the small livestock. Circumcision takes place latest for poor sons of poor people or for propertyless orphans. Namely, for the meat feasts held by the [422] circumcised youths each one in turn has to provide a head of cattle; he must therefore either own it himself or have a father who will give it to him. If he lacks both, the boy first tries to acquire a small stock [464] of cattle by tending herds for the well-to-do, and until then he remains uncircumcised. Such boys are called el oischŏ ñ gischu. This word means "herdsman," but signifies that it is a matter of someone who tends the livestock of other people for pay, like the Biblical word "hireling."

/129 cont./

411
171

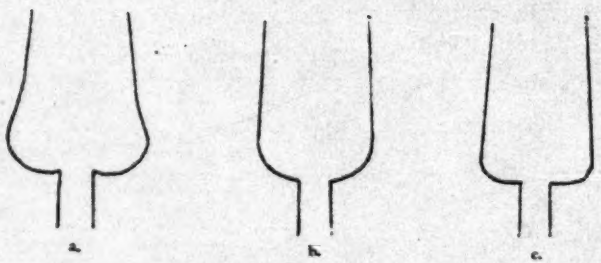


Fig. 29.

among the others usually more spade-shaped (c). The first two [177] shapes, especially the spoon-shaped one, have in more recent times also been imitated by Negro smiths, and, to be sure, as I /130/ was able to determine in several cases, on the express [184] order of Masai warriors. While the spear shoe is circular above and below as a rule, one also finds such, particularly in the Ol [422] bruggo province, among which these parts have a rectangular diameter and one which notches (Fig. 30) are made as ownership marks of various meanings (1).

1. They may mean: district, ol boror, tribe or lineage, etc., of the owner.

/Figs. 30-32 appear here./

411
482 On the march the spear is carried, either on the right or on the left, in three different ways, among which the warrior alternates according to convenience. 1. With outstretched arm hanging down, the hand grasps the spear shaft at the spear's center of gravity. The spear lies horizontally, the tip /131/ directed forward and slightly outward. 2. The spear is carried in the arm, similar to the position of the "gun in the arm." With thumb, index finger, and middle finger the spear shoe is grasped in the middle, as one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

18: Merker--172 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Figs. 30-32 from p. 130 of the original source./

411
• 422

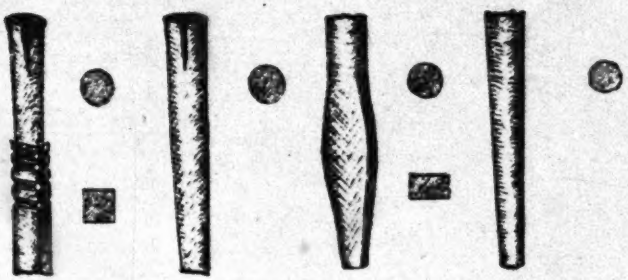


Fig. 30. (1/3

411

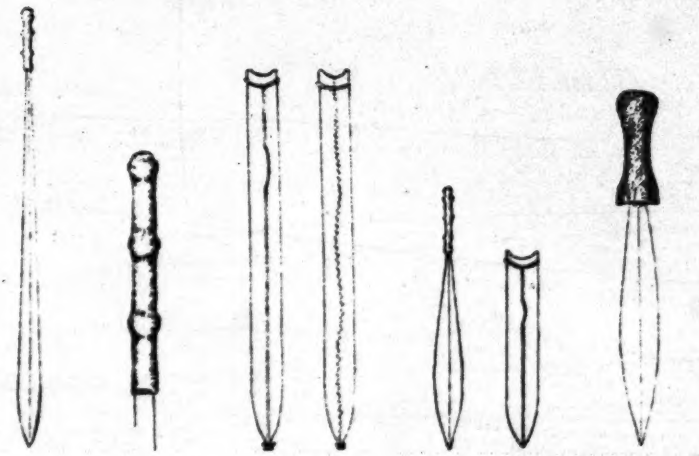


Fig. 31a. (2/3) Fig. 31b. (2/3) Fig. 31c. 2/3 Fig. 32a. (2/3 Fig. 32b. 2/3

/167 cont./

233
• 422
531

Merker phot.

Ill. 58. Bull with ornamental brand.
(the G [= Government] on the hind leg is not part of it, but would have been branded on the animal when it came to the fiscal herd.)

233 552 capturer of the first head of cattle on a war expedition receives as a reward is called Aherí. Other names for cows are: Narok-gonjék, blackeye, En dobiá, brown one, Mge, cream-colored one, Erok-logunja, blackhead, Na-njugi, red one. A male calf dropped by the cow Súdjaro is called Le-Súdjaro, while a female calf is simply given its mother's name.

231 233 422 [613] /168/ Cattle, donkeys, and small livestock bear ownership marks. These consist of cuts or brand lines on one or both ears and of lines and curves burned on the left side of the body. The marks ([Plates 3 and 4] ol mehere, el meheren, if put on the body; ol bonóto, el bonot, if on the ears) on the cattle and donkeys

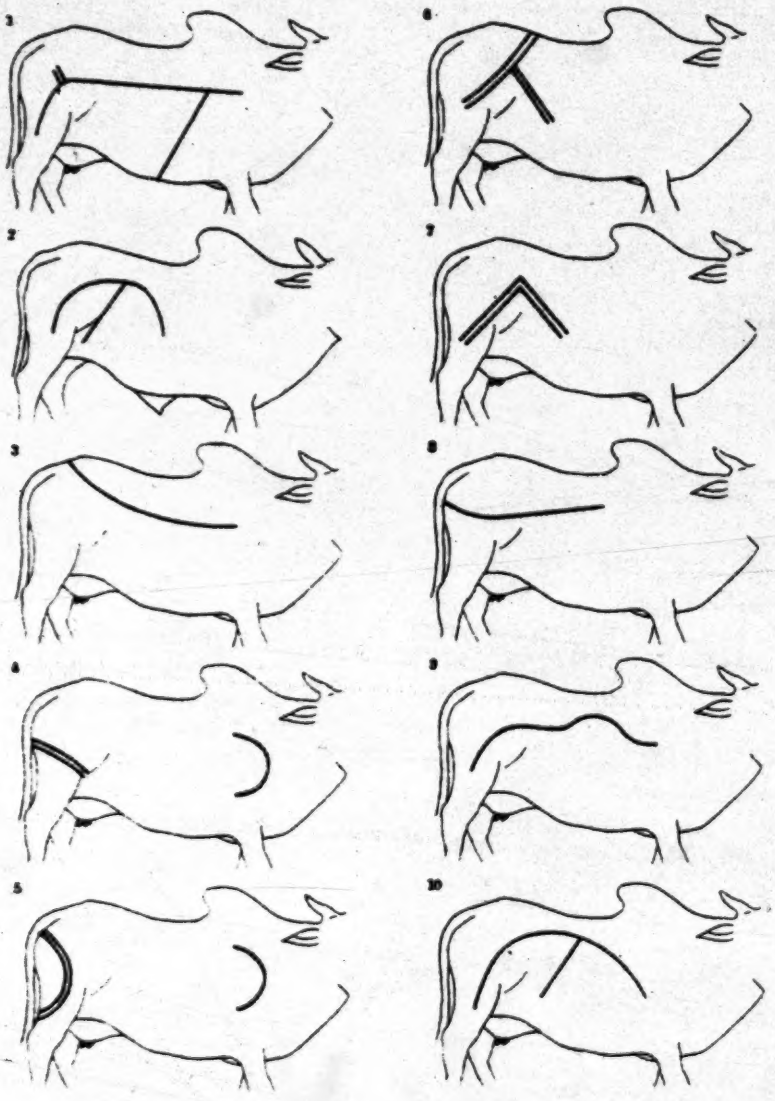
/168 cont./

231 233 422 [613] [17] show to what lineage or sublineage the owner belongs; those on the small livestock the owner chooses for himself. Probably every lineage has several distinct marks. A glance at history will explain this. In the immigration of the Masai people, accomplished little by little, each of the many bands originally formed a closed whole, which each lineage represented in it adopted a particular mark in order to make its property known. So it was natural that later on different ownership marks existed in connection with one and the same lineage, each according to the affiliation with this or that band. Besides this some that belong only to individual -- very wealthy and widely ramified -- families are also known, and then they are applied in place of the others, not together with them. The marks on the cattle are the same as those on the donkeys, although the latter bear the ear marks almost exclusively, only very rarely also those on the body. If a [613] head of breeding cattle passes to an owner belonging to another lineage, it is usually given a new mark, and, to be sure, this one 233 then on the right side of the body. Besides the 531 ownership marks, cattle often have still other signs burned in as adornment, especially [232] circles or a sentry-box type of design. A [412] circle around the root of the tail and, on either side of it, one or two concentric rings on the hind legs are found especially 233 frequently among bulls. In addition to these 232 cut and brand scars, which are therefore supposed to serve in part for identification, in part for beautification purposes, there is also a third type, which arises from operations that are performed with a red-hot iron (Fig. 75) for the curing of swellings on joints and tendons. These lines, usually lattice-shaped, are also found among goats and sheep. On female calves the horn attachments are often cauterized, so that they can not butt later on. This operation further brings about, in the view of the Masai, an enlargement of the belly, desirable for leather production.

Fig. 75.

/Left side of Plate 3a/

233
422
613



Property marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys too.

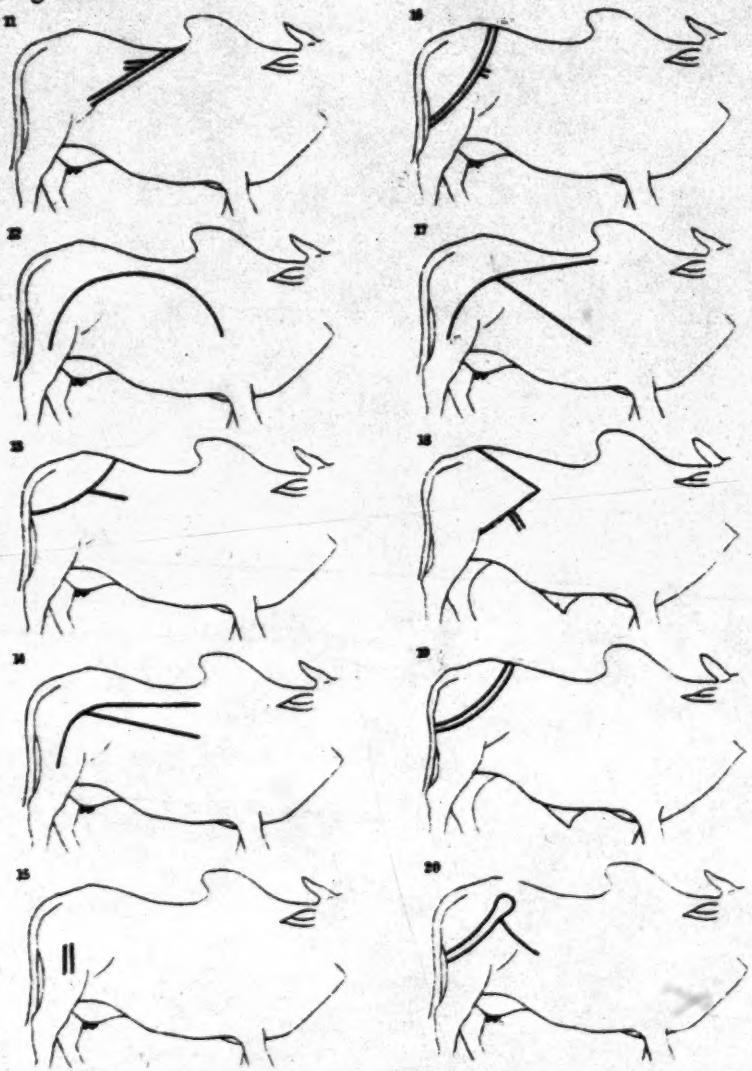
1 *Ek gidari*
2 *El kanyarutti*
3 *El kartimaro*
4 *El marijaro*
5 *El dibiliti*
6 *El gonio*
7 *El karanbagga*
8 *El karanaiga*
9 *L'aiy aiji nanyiki El ganarto*
10 *El karoiga*
11 *El ngamot, Ke nilaio*
12 *El magarot, El karinde*

/Nos. 11 and 12 are illustrated on p. 610/

/Right side of Plate 3a/

Plate 3a

233
• 422
613

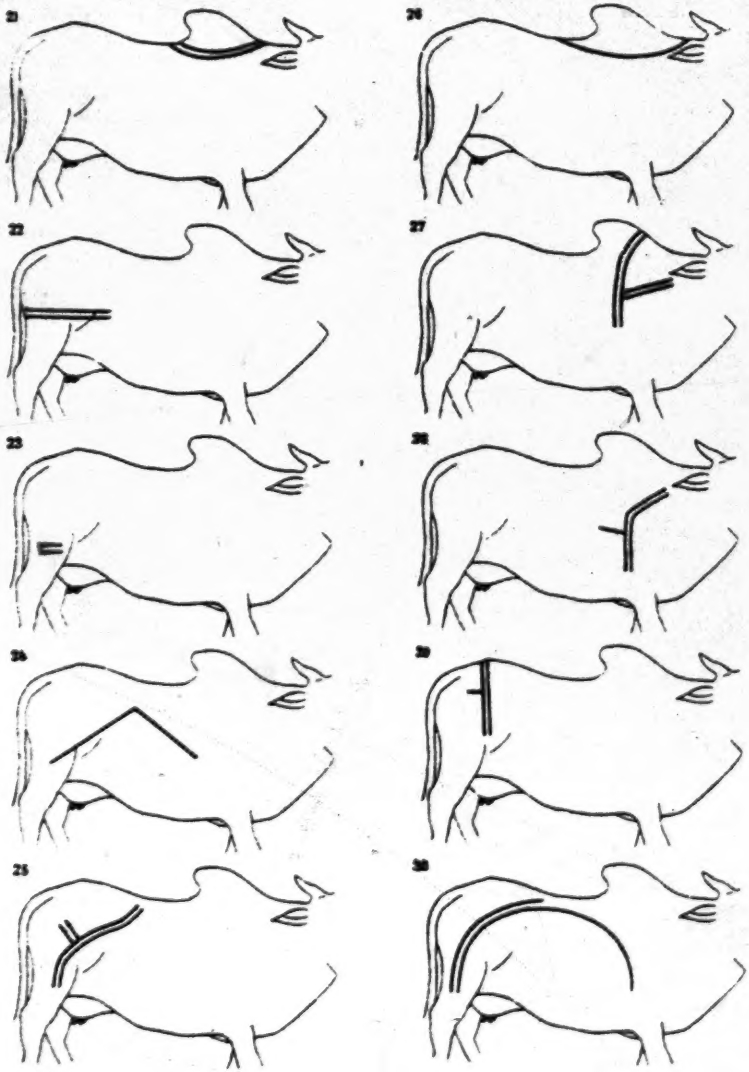


/Property marks on cattle; see p. 609 for 11 and 12./

13 *El laruroiye*
14 *El larugaro*
15 *El laroilli*
16 *El kilajioni*
17 *El larmagusoi*
18 *El masaiyua*
19 *El nairigo*
20 *El marmasita, El monai*

/Left side of Plate 3b/

233
422
613



Property marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys too.

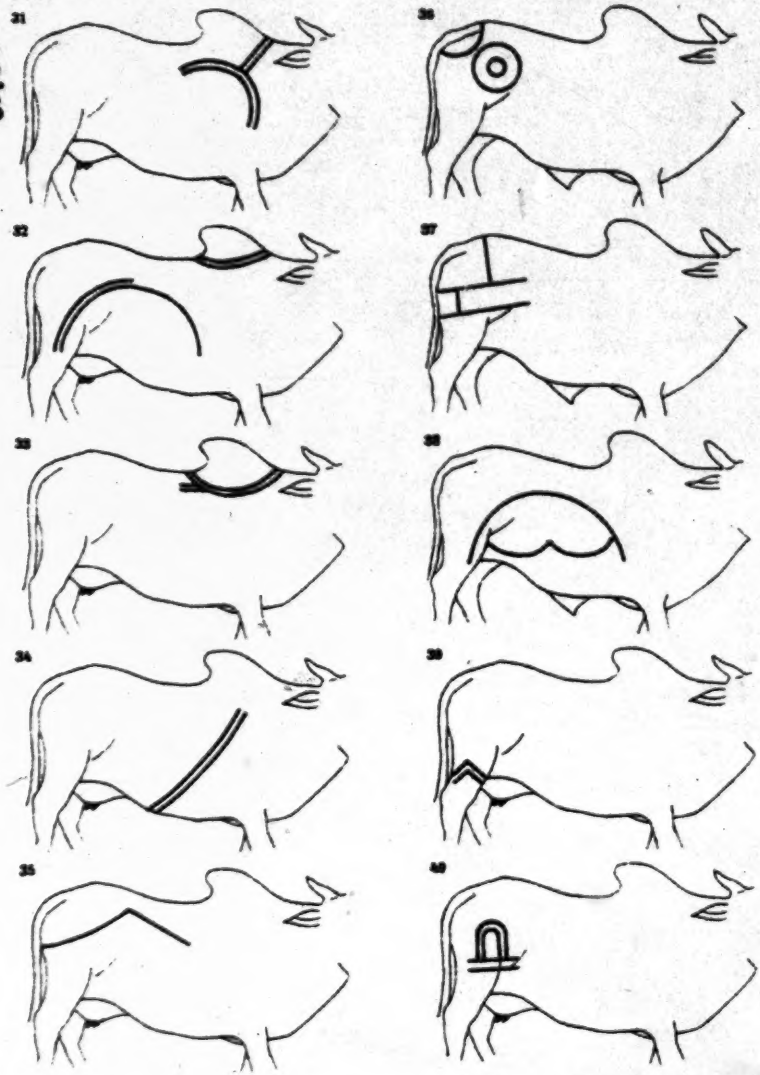
21 *El maguan*
22 *N dareero*
23 *El kiteron*
24 *Es sereigirigi, Es sonaga*
25 *El barwis*
26 *El giswkol*
27 *El mohono*
28 *El magarau*
29 *El barmairigig*
30 *Es siria*
31 *El bodjus*
32 *El oberi*

/Nos. 31 and 32 are illustrated on p. 612/

/Right side of Plate 3b/

Plate 3b

233
• 422
613



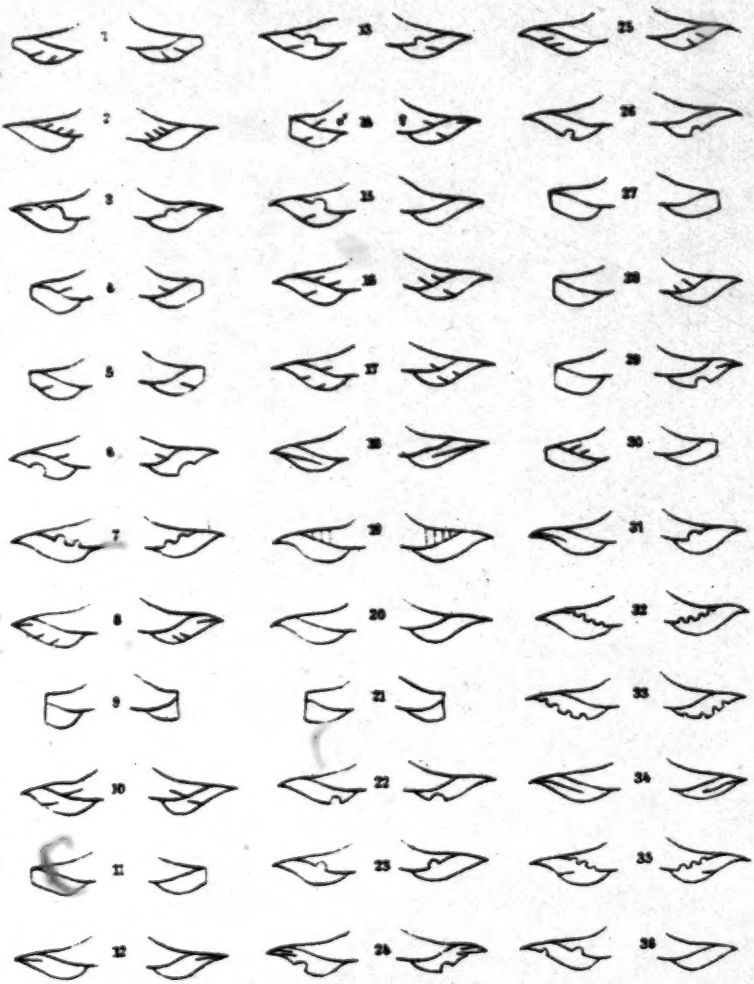
/Property marks on cattle; see p. 611 for 31 and 32./

33 *El marwa*
34 *El moomijiat*
35 *El mayuberia*
36 Decorative scars of bulls

37
38
39
40
} Signs of individual families

Plate 4

233
• 422
613



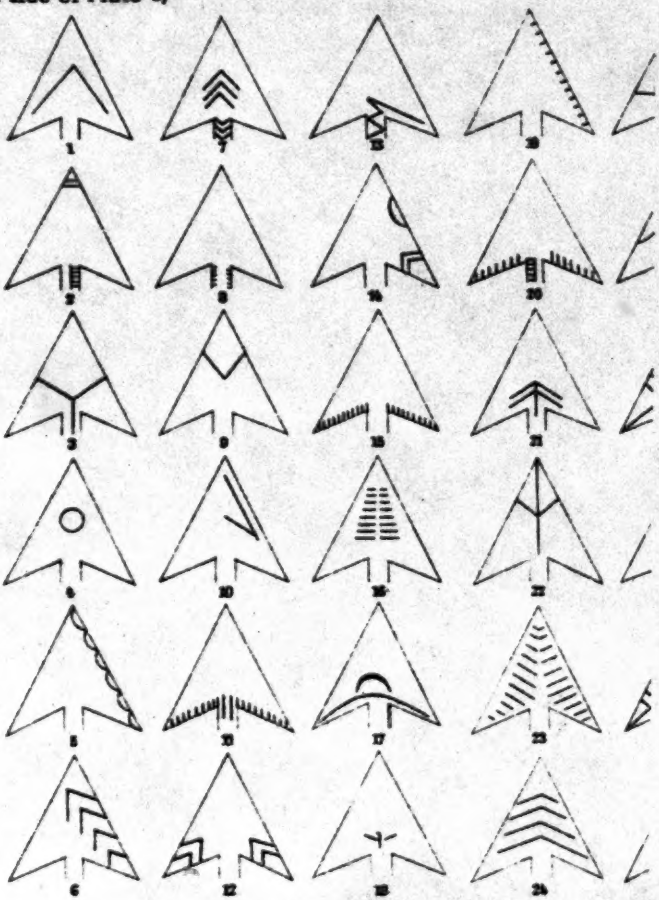
Property marks on the ears of cattle and donkeys.

Sign 12 is also frequently found on twin animals

/For No. 20, ohne Schnitte = without cuts./

/Left side of Plate 5/

• 422
411
613



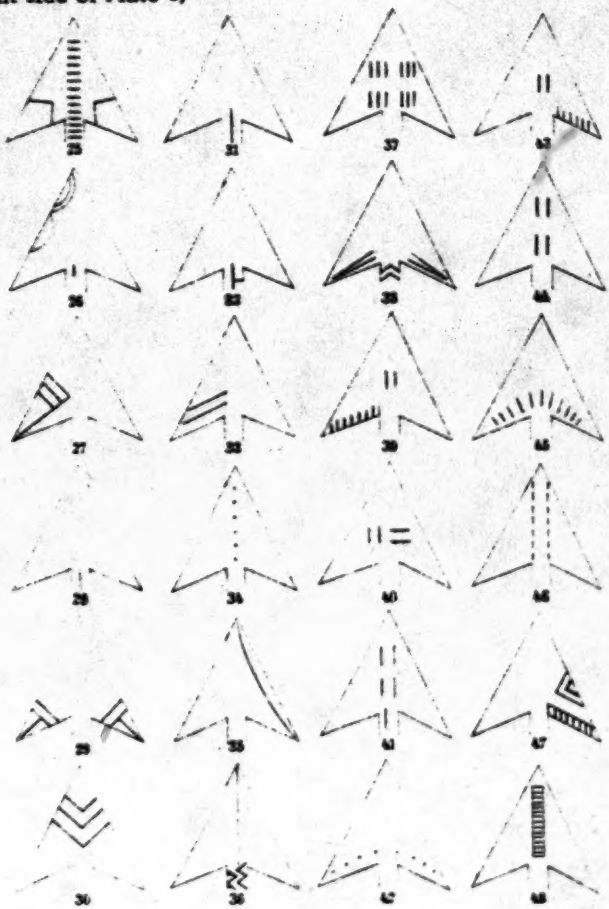
Property marks on arrow points.

1 *L'ator*
2 *En gidari*
3 *El bargwatti*
4 *El kartimaro*
5 *El kedjo*
6 *El dibilili*
7 *El ngolo*
8 *El karoshogwo*
9 *El meriyiero*
10 *El karoshigo*
11 *L'eig adji nanjagi. El gamarin*
12 *El karoshigo*
13 *El ugumoi*
14 *En sidiato*
15 *El muleljan*
16 *El nagurore*
17 *El karoinde*
18 *El karoshigo*
19 *El kartelle*
20 *El karogoro*
21 *El kibajiani*
22 *El karnagwani*
23 *El masaigwa*
24 *El misango*

/Right side of Plate 5/

Plate 5

• 422
411
613

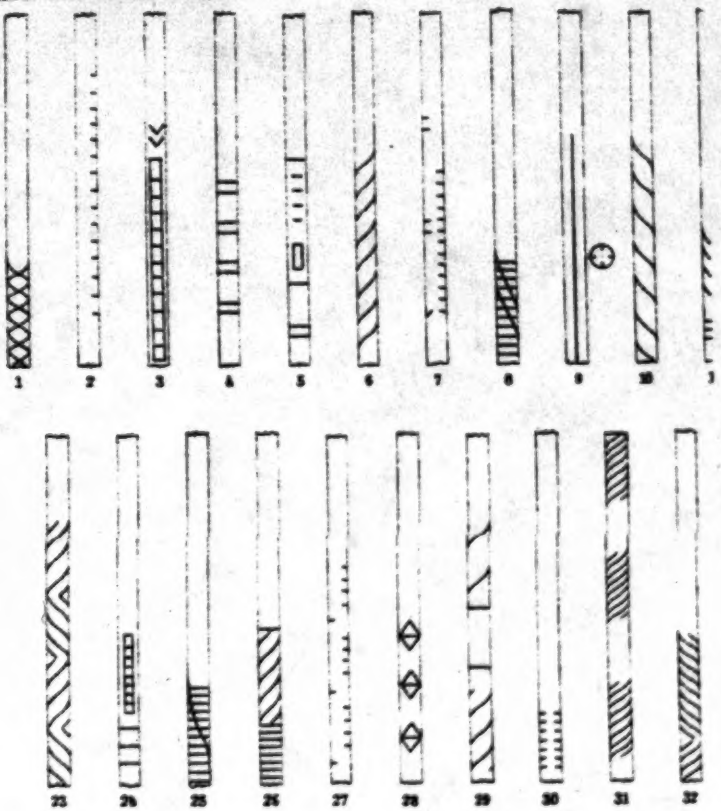


/Property marks on arrow points./

25 *El mamasita*
26 *El monai*
27 *El magosan*
28 *N'darasero*
29 *El tumbatwe*
30 *Leitajik*
31 *Es serogirogi*
32 *El barsois*
33 *El gisudal*
34 *El mahono*
35 *El magwan*
36 *El barnanjoi*
37 *Es nanaye*
38 *El meiyana*
39 *El marumai*
40 *El magulelia*
41 *El boljin*
42 *El aberi*
43 *El marani*
44 *El mamajiai*
45 *Es aria*
46, 47, 48 } Signs of individual families

/Left side of Plate 6/

• 422
411
613



Property marks on the tang of the arrow points.

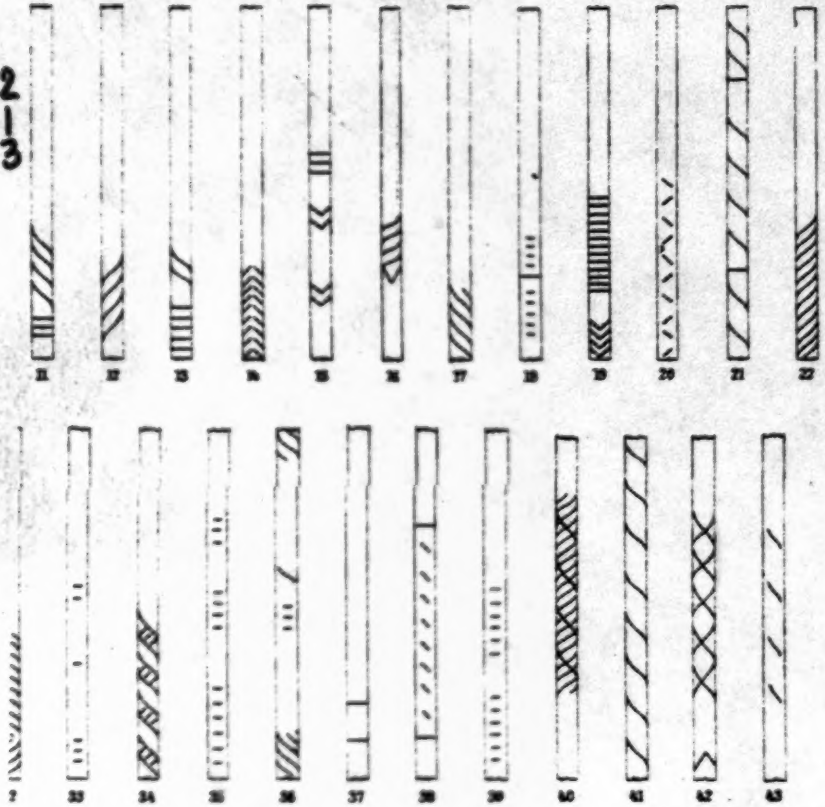
1 *Ei gidet*
2 *Il kenyenti*
3 *Il kerimare*
4 *Il kedje*
5 *Il dikilit*
6 *Il gnie*
7 *Il kerushoggo*
8 *Il merigiro*
9 *Il kerutigo*
10 *I ang ogfi nanyigi Il gumuria*
11 *Il kerutigo*
12 *Il ugumui*
13 *Ei nilaio*
14 *Il nagurare*
15 *Il kerutulo*
16 *Il kerurutigo*
17 *Il kerulio*

/See p. 617 for the listing of Nos. 23-32 and the illustrations of Nos. 11-17./

/Right side of Plate 6/

Plate 6

• 422
411
613



/Property marks on the tang of the arrow points./

18 *Il kerayev*	27 *Il nankasa*	36 *Il nayasa*
19 *Il ishpini*	28 *'l nilyiak*	37 *Il narosua*
20 *Il kerrayani*	29 *Le orrigirigi*	38 *Il ngalaria*
21 *Il nasayian*	30 *Il kerusi*	39 *Il keiju*
22 *Il natiyo*	31 *Il gisalal*	40 *Il dorol*
23 *Il nanasile*	32 *Il nabaro*	41 *Il narusi*
24 *Il narusi*	33 *Il ngarua*	42 *Il nanyiku*
25 *Il ngarua*	34 *Il kerrabiyo*	43 *Le sirio*
26 *'l dorsaro*	35 *Le nanyai*	

/See p. 616 for the listing of Nos. 11-17 and the illustrations for Nos. 23-32./

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
591 [582] share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
• [422] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[562] (Fosbrooke, 1948).

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
+233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the boma each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left,